

November 1982

SOUTHERN AFRICA

\$1.25

Volume XV Number 6

South Africa
Rumblings in the Church

**Progress Report on
Black Unions**

**Poetry for
Liberation**

**Women In the Struggle
—Winnie Mandela Speaks**

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Volume XV Number 4
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Front Cover: Winnie Mandela
(credit: John Burns/New York Times)

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Special thanks for their assistance to: *Africa News*, Lisa Biou, Lee Cokorinos, Robin Derby, Isaac Menaoccke, Lori Miller, Corbin Seavers, Teresa Stern.

Typesetting by Brooklyn Bridge Publications
Printing by Vanguard Press

Southern Africa is published monthly except for January-February and August-September, when bi-monthly by The Southern Africa Committee, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.

Subscription: Individual (domestic)/\$10.00 Institutional/\$18.00; Individual (foreign)/\$13.00; Institutional/\$21.00; Airmail: Africa, Asia, Europe/\$22.50; South and Central America/\$19.50.

Southern Africa is available on microfilm through University Microfilm Zerox Company, Ann Arbor, Mich 48104, and is listed in the Alternative Press index and the Public Affairs Information Service.

Distributors: New York, NY: Joe Massey, Washington, DC: Liberation Information Distribution Co; Boston, MA: Carrier Pigeon, Third World Distributors; Chicago: Prairie News Agency; Minneapolis, MN: Rainbow Distribution; Atlanta, GA: Guild News Agency, Cabel R. News; Detroit, MI: New Directions Enterprises.

ISSN 938-3775

update

US Backs Huge Loan to Apartheid

With strong support from the United States, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is preparing to ride to the rescue of South Africa's faltering economy with a \$1.1 billion loan. If approved (which appears a virtual certainty as long as the US backs it), the loan would be the single largest IMF credit ever received by the white minority regime.

The pending loan was uncovered only last month, when the contents of a cable to the US embassy in South Africa were leaked to the Washington-based lobbying group, TransAfrica. A decision by the Western-dominated IMF Board of Governors is expected November 3.

The bulk of the loan—\$689 million—will be used to shore up South Africa's sagging balance of payments position. The rest of the money is slated for a three-year "economic stabilization" program for the hard-pressed white government.

The IMF practice of making loans to South Africa has been controversial for many years and the United Nations General Assembly has voted repeatedly to put an end to it. The votes have been ignored. Although nominally a specialized agency of the UN, the IMF is effectively controlled by the US and other Western industrialized countries, who also happen to be South Africa's major trade partners.

Nevertheless, opponents of the application are gearing up for a stiff fight. Jeff Bittle, a spokesman for the Washington-based Center for International Policy, described the billion dollar request as "a subsidy for the South African army," noting that the loan would nearly equal the increase in South Africa's military budget over the last two years.

In Washington, TransAfrica and the Washington Office on Africa are coordinating a campaign to bring Congressional and international pressure to bear on the Reagan administration to block the loan. At the UN, meanwhile, the South African

liberation movements are spearheading efforts to mobilize the nonaligned nations and the "Africa Group" against the South African request. Johnstone Makatini, UN observer for the African National Congress, denounced the proposed IMF action, saying, "Such a loan would encourage the Pretoria regime's intransigence and belligerence, and facilitate its program of repression inside South Africa." Campaign organizers have appealed for support from local activists as well. Letters and telegrams of protest can be sent to:

Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan
15th and Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20220

The Congressional Black Caucus
306 House Annex
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dead End In Namibia Negotiations

With the US still calling the tune, negotiations for a Namibia settlement remained locked in the Reagan three-step—one step sideways, two steps back—in mid-October.

In an October 5 address at the United Nations, Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge derided the US for "taking wishes for reality." And he placed responsibility for the stalled negotiations squarely with US efforts to link a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola with the question of Namibian independence.

Jorge pointed out that with as many as 5,000 South African troops already operating inside his country and with thousands more massed near the border, the American demand amounted to little less than national suicide. And he blasted the US "paranoia on (the) question of Cubans" as "a gross interference in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign country." Cuban troops are in Angola at the invitation of the Angolan government to help defend the country against repeated South African attacks.

Theo-Ben Gurirab, SWAPO's UN representative and a key figure in the recent talks, welcomed the Angolan statement. Linkage, he said "just gives the South Africans another excuse to stall. This question of the Cubans has nothing to do with Namibia's independence whatsoever."

The US expressed disappointment at

the tone of Jorge's UN speech. But it gave no indication that it was reconsidering its position in time for an October tour of Africa by Vice President George Bush. In fact, a report in the *Rand Daily Mail* contended that CIA Director William Casey had discussed yet another possible "linkage" with top-ranking South African officials during a hush-hush visit to Pretoria in late September. The South African paper reported that Casey had discussed exchanging a South African pledge to reduce attacks on neighboring states for a crackdown on anti-apartheid activities in those states.

Connecticut Pressure Prompts Pullout

General Electric has decided to sell its stake in a planned coal mine in South Africa, partially as a result of pressure from anti-apartheid activists in Connecticut. The state of Connecticut passed a bill requiring divestment of state funds from some companies involved in South Africa last June.

Southern Sphere Mining—a subsidiary of Utah International, which is owned by General Electric—announced in early October that it will sell its stake in the planned \$138.6 million coal mine. And according to the British *Financial Times*, company officials in Johannesburg are saying the decision to pull out of the mine, located in the Kwazulu bantustan, was influenced by anti-apartheid pressure in Connecticut, where GE has its headquarters.

The coal mine investment, which was announced last April, would have been the largest new venture by any US company in South Africa in recent years. General Electric officials said the decision to withdraw from the mine will not affect GE's other investments in South Africa.

"We are happy to see that some of our pressure has gotten through to the company," said Christy Hoffman, one of the organizers working on divestment legislation in Connecticut. But Hoffman also noted that GE still has substantial investments in South Africa. "We're going to come back next year with a stronger bill advocating total divestment," says Hoffman, "and GE's action doesn't lessen the need for complete divestment."

Washington Steps Up Harassment of SWAPO

In the past few months Washington has given vent to its hostility towards the Namibian liberation movement SWAPO by denying or delaying its members entry into the United States and initiating a Justice Department investigation into SWAPO's US office. Members of the African National Congress of South Africa have also "suddenly" encountered visa difficulties.

The liberation movements maintain offices in New York primarily to coordinate their activities at the UN. Unlike most diplomatic envoys, including the South Africans, liberation movement representatives must apply for a new visa whenever they leave the United States. Normally, such visas have been routinely granted. However, on five separate occasions this year SWAPO UN observer Theo-Ben Gurirab, a key figure in current Namibia negotiations, has been stranded overseas while US officials stalled on his visa application.

A similar situation occurred last June when ANC observer Johnstone Makatini was stuck in Havana while the US held up his return visa. When pressed for an explanation by the ANC office in New York, the US Mission to the United Nations said telecommunications with the US interests section in Havana were out. Yet Makatini encountered no difficulty making three telephone calls to his New York office from Havana that same day.

Reagan's "Hit List"

Leading members of the southern African liberation movements appear to be high on a secret State Department list of proscribed individuals and organizations, compiled at the direction of National Security Adviser William P. Clark.

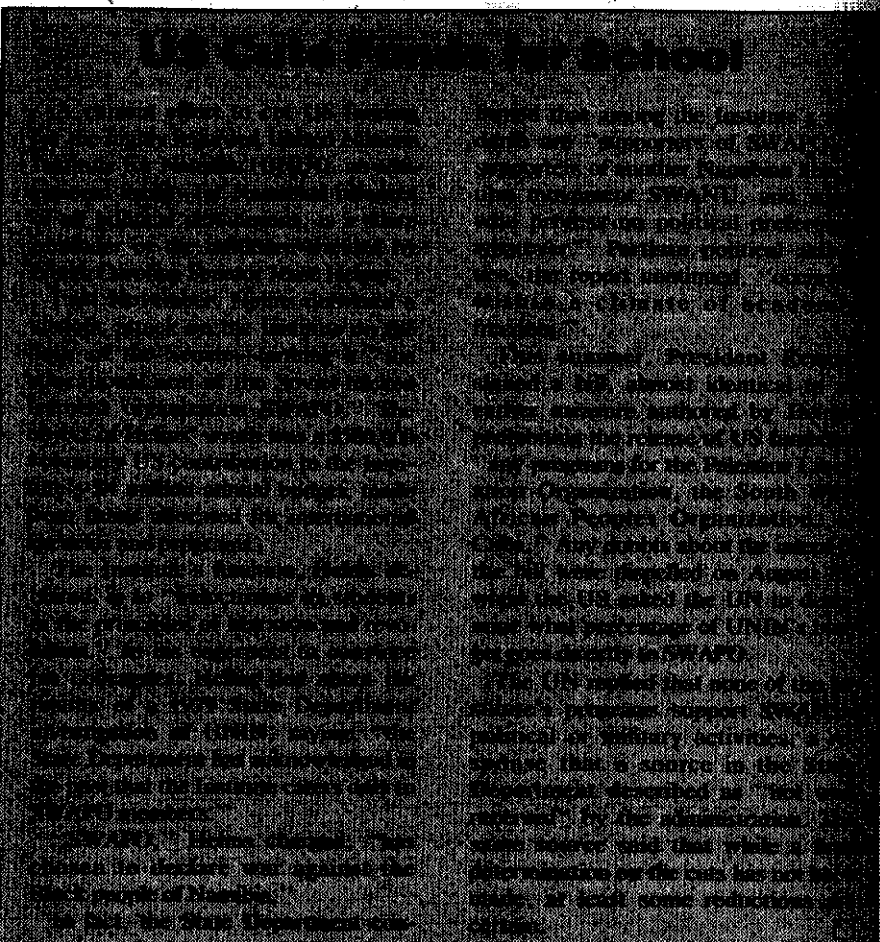
In July, the Criminal Division of the Internal Security Section of the US Department of Justice informed SWAPO's US office that they would conduct a "routine inspection of your books and records, maintained on behalf of your foreign principal... The review will include, but will not be limited to, an inspection of all correspondence, memoranda, cables, tele-

grams and teletype messages as well as an audit of all bookkeeping and financial records relating to your activities on behalf of your foreign principal."

The Federal action follows on the heels of a civil suit against SWAPO filed by the South African-financed "Committee for a Free Namibia" charging SWAPO lied in its Federal registration documents. The suit accuses SWAPO of "engaging in para-military actions aimed at seizing control of Namibia (South West Africa), a territory of the Republic of South Africa." Carl Shipley and Marion Smoak, attorneys for and members of the committee, are registered Washington lobbyists for the South African-appointed Administrator-General in Namibia.

Reagan administration attempts to bully and punish the southern African liberation movements are presumably intended to further US policy objectives in the region. But Secretary of State George Shultz may do well to ponder the advice of William Johnston, president of Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, who, protesting the vindictive campaign, wrote: "I would think, Mr. Shultz, that the State Department would have the foresight at least of looking ahead a few years and want at a very minimum to deal correctly with officials of the ANC of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia: you will soon have to deal with them as representatives of their respective sovereign states."

M.F.



The Apartheid Church Rumblings at the Base

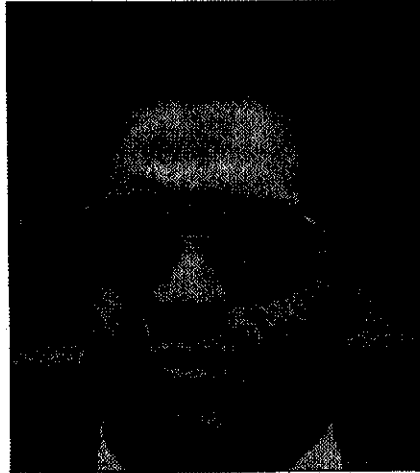
South Africa's white Dutch Reformed Churches, the moral bastions of apartheid, have met with a succession of potentially devastating reverses this year. Internal forces as well as those closest to them outside of the country have blasted these churches, which were among the original framers of apartheid. Of the white Reformed Churches, the Nederduitse Geereformeerde Kerk (NGK) in particular, the largest church in the country, has faced repeated rebuffs for continuing to support and theologically justify apartheid.

In April, the NGK was rejected by its "mother" Reformed Church in Holland which considered only its racially separated Black "daughter" churches acceptable partners for dialogue on South African issues. In June, it faced unprecedented public rejection of apartheid by 123 NGK clergy who called for one united NGK open to all races. Then came the strongest rejection the white Reformed Church has yet faced.

Thrown Out of World Body

In August, at a meeting of the general council of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) in Ottawa, the NGK and a smaller sister white Reformed Church were thrown out of the world body for the "heresy of apartheid." Then, to make matters worse the Black Reformed minister who led the bitterly contested rejection effort was made president of the world Reformed body. Dr. Allan Boesak, a "colored" minister in the NGK's Colored "daughter" church, has in effect become the spiritual leader of all white Afrikaans—a situation which many will undoubtedly see as an incredible affront to their way of life.

"Politically," says South African journalist Dumisani Kumalo, "these happenings are non-events." Apartheid both within and outside the NGK will likely continue regardless of what religious leaders say about it or those who



Allan Boesak

support it. However, because of the unique position of the Reformed Church in South African social and political life, the eventual effect of these actions will likely be nothing short of profound. Consider the following:

The NGK is clearly the most important church to the ruling white minority in South Africa. Present since the beginnings of European settlement, its membership today comprises 40 percent of the total white population and 65 percent of the three million ruling Afrikaner minority. Church attendance within the NGK is the highest of any church in South Africa. Hennie Serfontein, noted Afrikaner journalist and Reformed Church historian, calls the Afrikaners the most "visibly religious" white group in the Protestant world; religion and the church are constantly interwoven in daily life.

The tie is so close that the church has even taken an active role in framing the pattern of daily life in South Africa. The NGK set the stage for apartheid through its own policies. It established separate mission churches under its control for "coloreds," Indians and Africans. NGK Seminars for Africans further divide Africans into five different tribal groupings. While all Blacks are barred from the white church, white ministers predominate in Black churches to this

day while retaining membership in and loyalties to the NGK. The white "mother" church also provides most of their funding, deepening their dependency.

When Afrikaners came to power, in 1948, the government adopted a similar system for the country as a whole following years of lobbying by the NGK leadership. "After 1948, it was not necessary for the NGK to make political pronouncements," said one Afrikaner churchman, "because the Government was faithfully executing apartheid—the NGK's own creation." In essence, the apartheid regime was created in the image of the NGK, hence the importance of the action of the world Reformed Church body.

As WARC's general council noted in August, "The white Afrikaans Reformed Churches of South Africa have worked out in considerable detail both the policy itself and the theological and moral justification for the system. Apartheid ('Separate Development') is therefore a pseudo-religious ideology as well as a political policy." The Mixed Marriages Act, which prohibits interracial marriages, and the Immorality Act, which prohibits inter-racial sex, "were introduced at the specific request of the church," notes Afrikaner historian Johan Muller. "The NGK sees itself as ministering to the sociopolitical interest of the *volk*," meaning the Afrikaner population.

Broederbond Link

The pre-eminent instrument for maintaining those interests both within the church and throughout South Africa has been the Broederbond, a uniquely powerful all-male secret society, formed to represent the interests of a struggling Afrikaner middle-class against the overwhelming economic domination of the English capital. With 12,000 members and more than 300 cells across the country, the Broederbond

secret society has dominated Afrikaner political life for almost 50 years. Serfontein notes that every second NGK minister is a Broederbond member as is almost all of the church's top leadership. On the Moderature, the NGK's "cabinet," only one member is not. Conversely, the Broederbond's thirteen-man executive includes two or three Reformed ministers and has even been headed by the Moderator of the NGK.

The Broederbond executive also includes at least seven members of the ruling National Party, invariably its leading figures. Thus, the church, the state, and the Afrikaner secret society are closely intertwined. In fact, the NGK has long been known as the "government in prayer" and most major Afrikaner leaders belong to it. "The NGK has always had a direct relationship with the National Party," according to Muller. It is not unusual to hear political leaders justifying their political arguments in Christian terms.

Church-Politics Link

"If you analyze the Prime Minister's speeches during the last two or three years you will see that he often sounds more like an Evangelist than a politician," said the new WARC president Allan Boesak, "emphasizing all the time that we are a Christian nation and appealing to the underlying religiosity that has shaped and molded Afrikaner nationalism.

"Now that world to which the Afrikaner was closest... has told him that this will no longer wash. It is bound to

bring a crisis of conscience and confusion within the Afrikaner community... There will be a horrific clash between those who say they no longer have to care what the outside world thinks or not, and those who do."

Allan Boesak

Boesak, at 36 the youngest leader of world Reformism since its founder John Calvin and the first from the Third World, is a fierce yet little-known opponent of apartheid. "It is the Reformed tradition which [has] been so effectively and ruthlessly used to justify black oppression and white racism in South Africa," he told the WARC.

Black power is the answer to the white power structure

Because of his new found prominence, he was expected to become moderator of the Coloured Reformed Church, known as the Sendingkerk, at its September Synod. But conservative white missionaries beat back the effort to install Boesak. He is probably best known to South Africans as the leader of the Broederkring, a group of anti-apartheid Black and white ministers in the Black Reformed Churches. The Broederkring belongs to the South African Council of Churches and Boesak sits on SACC's executive committee.

Despite his youth, Boesak has long championed the struggle against apartheid and for Black empowerment, with the church as his battlefield. His writing and speeches reflect the influence of the Black Consciousness movement and he also points to the impact of a six-month period of theological study in New York. "I saw that Blacks there could be confident and have a spontaneous attitude toward whites because they accepted their blackness." During doctoral studies in Holland he published a book of essays on Black theology and a comparative study of the ethics of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.

"Black Power is the answer to the white power structure," Boesak told a political meeting in 1977. "It is the answer to racism, degradation, humiliation, exploitation and alienation. Black power realizes that the race problem is essentially a white problem. But at the same time it is also a black problem: the strongest ally of the oppressor is the

mind of the oppressed."

Boesak says that his radicalism crystallized during the period of the uprisings of 1976. He notes that the white Sendingkerk had become more militant, culminating in the Synod of 1978. During that Synod, the Sendingkerk boldly declared apartheid heretical and irreconcilable with the Gospel," virtually the same judgement passed by the WARC this August. This was followed by "top level meetings between the white NGK and the black churches," said Boesak, writing two years later: "[which] revealed a still widening rift on almost all major issues facing the church in South Africa today."

African Reformed Churches

The Broederkring, which he headed, was formed largely through the efforts of the African Reformed Church, known formally as the NGK in Africa (NGKA). The NGKA fired the first shots in the struggle against the racism of the "mother church by declaring apartheid un-Christian" in 1973, insisting that "we should obey god rather than men" and also repudiating armed struggle. The following year, many of their number helped form the Broederkring along with members from the "colored" and Indian Reformed Churches. They opposed tribal division within the NGK instituted by the NGK and fought for a united, nonracial Reformed church.

Boesak also fights apartheid by advocating a united, nonracial Reformed Church. The response of the white NGK to these efforts has been particularly telling: "(They) said no to this in 1978," Boesak said recently, "because church integration would lead to social integration and then political integration and then to the end of Afrikanerdom."

The WARC has urged the Black churches, already twice as large as the NGK in membership, to unite on a non-racial basis, open to whites who repudiate apartheid.

While few doubt that the white church will do everything in its power to resist the pressures which have been building against it, still it finds itself in a newly hostile and isolated situation internationally. And at home, within the white Reformed Church, where previously there was only the self-righteous justification of human degradation, now there are also rumblings around the holy pillars of apartheid, an area previously immune to such blasphemy. M.S.R.



Women at the Forefront of the Struggle

Winnie Mandela Speaks

by Corbin Seavers

Nomzamo (She Who Strives) Winnie Mandela is one of South Africa's most persecuted citizens. For nineteen of the last twenty years she has been either under administrative restrictions or in prison. Since 1977 she has been forced to live in a remote village 200 miles away from her home in Johannesburg.

As her last name indicates, she is the wife of the country's best known political prisoner, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, now serving a life sentence for attempting to overthrow the racist state.

But as her first name correctly reflects, she is a formidable opponent of the apartheid government in her own right, and has often been a force at the center of anti-apartheid protests. The government banished her to the isolation of Brandfort after her active support of student protesters in the 1976 Soweto uprising. She is barred from leaving the village, and confined to her house from 6pm to 6am. But the attempt to crush her spirit has failed completely, as the following interview with Southern Africa correspondent Corbin Seavers indicates.

Could you comment on the general problems Black women in South Africa face?

The Black woman's position in this country is worse than anywhere else in the world. The Black woman is oppressed by a racist regime and also oppressed by her culture in the sense that there are retrogressive parts of our culture which relegate a woman to a position very inferior to that of a man. So she faces that kind of oppression. Thirdly, she is legislated against by a fascist regime that declares her a minor

by virtue of her skin. As a Black woman you are a nonentity, a nobody legally, through the white man's law.

As far as the liberation struggle is concerned, she has to play a major role. It is she who feels more than anyone else the meaning of oppression. It is this brutalized mother who gave birth to the thousands of children who were shot to death because they did not want to speak an oppressor's language [in the Soweto uprising in 1976]. Such a mother can only react by being in the forefront of the struggle.

What type of South Africa do you envision after the revolution?

We have been so oppressed for over four hundred years that that question will really be decided by the people of the day. It will be their right to choose which government they want after we have removed our yoke of oppression. What we are concerned with now is the liberation of the Black man and woman.

Yes I am a great admirer of Malcolm X. I worshipped that man.

Any future government will be a government of the people. If our future government is to be stable it will have to be a form of government whereby the people shall share the wealth of the land. It will be a government that will accommodate all inhabitants of this land.

Even at this late stage in our history, where I personally have no room whatsoever for the white man, I still believe that our future constitution of this country is the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress. There can be no government that can rule this

country peacefully, and accommodate the peoples of this land equally without that blueprint. It is a sacred document to us that was drawn by the people of this land. So we have no problems about our future South Africa. We know what we want. It is contained in the Freedom Charter.

Do you think women's organizations should play an active role in the anti-apartheid solidarity movement?

They should be active in the solidarity movement because we gain our inspiration from the solidarity that is expressed by fellow sisters throughout the world.

We want to think of ourselves as part of that international community, which we are. We need those organizations that identify with us, those organizations that realize we belong to this family of man that is fighting for the same thing. We need friends more than ever before, especially now that we are nearing the climax in our struggle.

We don't deceive ourselves by thinking that the situation isn't going to be worse. We know we are still going to bury more of our children, our husbands and our brothers. We need their morale. We need their support.

Have Black American political movements influenced Black South Africans in any fashion?

We have never thought of the Black American as a species that is separate from us. To us the Black American is a brother. As far as we are concerned in the African National Congress every effort by the Black American is an act by a fellow brother who is part of the overall structure, the machinery to bring down the racist regime. You may think what you do is of little consequence, but I cannot put into words the morale, the inspiration we draw from that. To us such actions are a continuation of a struggle that is not only internal here, it is international. Getting our country back is not getting it back

Corbin Seavers visited South Africa last June. He is an active solidarity worker in the US and member of the National Black Independent Political Party.

just for us. It is getting it for all of us, for all fellow Blacks. It's getting back our dignity. It is getting back our honor. That honor is that of the Black man in this country, of the Black man in Africa, of our fellow brothers in America.

Has any single Black American had a special impact on you?

Yes. I am a great admirer of Malcolm X. I worshipped that man. I admire him greatly.

What do you think of the Reagan administration?

As far as we are concerned it has been a tragedy to have a man like that at this time of our struggle. One cannot ignore the fact that administrations such as his take us one step back. If we were going to obtain our liberation tomorrow it will take another two days because of a man like Reagan. His policy on Africa is absolutely shocking. Not only in our own struggle, but in the Middle East and other areas it is absolutely abhorrent.

Why were you banished to Brandfort?

Since you have been here in the country you must have noticed there is much one cannot understand about the Na-

tionalist [party] government. The things they do, such as detention without trial, are things one cannot explain. One can only speculate. In my particular case I am aware of the fact that they wanted to remove me from our ghetto, Soweto, because of the uprising of 1976.

This is the manner in which they deal with political situations here. They find scapegoats for problems created by them. So they say, "The student uprising could not have taken place if there were no agitators. If there were no communists the thirty thousand bantus would never say anything about their hunger pangs. They wouldn't realize that they are not sharing in the wealth of their own country. They have to be told so by communists and agitators." This is the mentality of the Afrikaner.

This was the same case with my being sent here. I was supposed to have incited students. I in fact literally set the country alight, according to them. Now such credit, if it was genuine, if it wasn't such a falsehood, would inflate one's ego. In this particular case twenty-two million Blacks were rebelling against an unjust and immoral system. And to suggest that they are in no way able to think for themselves when they rebel against

an unjust system is the most ridiculous tactic of the Afrikaner.

What do you do with most of your time here?

I spend much of my time reading. The social conditions here are so bad that three quarters of my time is really spent on community work. There are the usual social conditions you find in any South African ghetto. There is extreme poverty, high unemployment, and the children are riddled with diseases. And of course what goes with conditions like these is the alcohol problem coupled with violence, bloodshed, and stab wounds. So I run an unofficial clinic here.

I am compelled to operate from here because I can't leave the house because of my house arrest. We at least manage to get a few first aid materials to enable me to run the clinic. A few friends have come together, and they give us medicines. I run a soup kitchen for the aged here. They come from the outlying farms. They have to walk distances of twenty to thirty kilometers to come and get their pensions and to do their shopping. There are not motels for such people, so we cater for them.

Winnie Mandela—A Lifetime of Fighting

Because of her consistent and courageous resistance to apartheid, Winnie Mandela has spent nearly half of her life under arrest or restricted by "banning orders," a particularly vicious form of house arrest, knowing freedom for only ten of the last twenty years. Still under highly restrictive conditions today, she continues to defy the rule of apartheid. She has been a leading member of the African National Congress, since she joined the protests against the pass laws as a member of the ANC Women's League in 1958.

Though she was first arrested and detained that same year, she continued to publicly organize resistance to white minority rule until her banning in 1963. Each year after 1963 the government increased the restrictions attached to her banning until 1969 when she was arrested and detained for 491 days, most of which was spent in solitary confinement. Al-

though acquitted of charges under the Suppression of Communism Act, she later testified that she was tortured during her detention.

Shortly after her release, she was banned again and restricted to Orlando Village in Soweto. Freed for ten months in 1975, she helped establish a Black woman's federation and later the Black Parent's Association which played a leading role in voicing the grievances of students during the 1976 Soweto uprising. In 1977, she was again banned and banished to Brandfort where she resides now.

Mandela lives in a three-room matchbox house without electricity or running water, and is restricted to her house at night and on weekends. During her daily excursions to town she regularly uses entrances and facilities marked "whites only," rattling the white residents and inspiring the Blacks.

Appalled by Black malnutrition in

Brandfort, she started a gardening project. Now every Black home has a garden and the Black community's diet has improved. Mandela started the town's first clinic, including an infant care facility, and adopted the town's Black "delinquents," visiting them regularly, giving them books, and seeing that they go to school.

She sees her husband, imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, twice a month for 45 minutes—through a glass panel. In the last twenty years they have shared a fragmented total of four months together. Her life is at once a testament to the inhuman brutalities of apartheid and a symbol of Black strength and resistance.

Messages of support can be sent to:

Ms. Winnie Mandela
802 Phatakahle Township
Brandfort, OFS 9400
South Africa

Black Workers Confront the State

Despite the arrest of labor leaders, and a recession that has sparked widespread lay-offs, Black unions are growing at an astonishing rate in South Africa.

March 21, 1960. Sharpeville. Sixty-seven unarmed Black demonstrators gunned down by South African police.

June 16, 1976. Soweto. Police open fire on protesting Black schoolchildren, touching off a series of clashes that leaves more than 1,000 dead.

..... 1982 or 1983? (Pick a date, any date.) Port Elizabeth? East London? Uitenhage? All of the above? Clashes with striking Black workers ignite a wave of strikes and protests across the country and around the world.

Another watershed confrontation looms in South Africa, as a rapidly growing independent Black labor movement challenges government policy and major corporations. The repercussions could be even greater than in 1960 and 1976, when the apartheid state circled its wagons and fended off an upsurge of protests at home and a crescendo of denunciations from abroad.

Between June and September this year, serious labor conflicts erupted at the mines which provide the bulk of South Africa's foreign exchange, at the automobile industry which represents the greatest concentration of multinational investment in South African

industry, and finally on the docks through which virtually all of South Africa's foreign trade must pass.

As the conflicts have simmered and spread, the warnings from corporate leaders and the press have grown increasingly dire. "A labor relations time-bomb is ticking in the country's ports," the *Rand Daily Mail's* labor correspondent Steven Friedman stated dramatically in June. "If it explodes, the economic and political consequences could be awesome."

His prediction could be right. A strike on the docks, against an agency of the South African state, could paralyze other industries that depend on imported parts or materials and could possibly spark an international dockworkers' boycott of South African ships and cargoes. The consequences could be "awesome," indeed. (See separate article on dockworkers and South African Transport Services.)

If Friedman proves wrong about the docks, that does not necessarily mean that he was engaging in rhetorical over-

kill when he talked about a labor relations time-bomb. It just means that it may explode somewhere else. The time-bomb exists.

Black Union Growth

In the face of harsh government repression and a recession that has handed corporate managers the threat of mass layoffs as a cudgel against union militancy, independent Black unions are growing at an astonishing rate in South Africa. Despite the recession, despite the detention of more than 300 union activists last year, the number of strikes more than tripled between 1979 and 1981, soaring from 101 to 342.

Another 200 were reported during just the first five months of 1982. Union membership has also mushroomed at what the nation's leading business publication calls "a phenomenal rate." By the end of 1981, the number of workers enrolled in mainly Black unions was variously estimated at 260,000 to 400,000. And growing. All indications are that recruitment has continued and even accelerated during the first half of 1982.



In some regions, according to an academic expert on South African labor, the only barrier to even more rapid growth has been a lack of union organizers. The workers themselves are eager to sign up, he said, with entire factories sometimes joining within a few days. In Natal, for instance, activists affiliated with FOSATU (the Federation of South African Trade Unions) decided they couldn't wait for the federation to dispatch more union organizers to the area. So shop stewards from plants that had already been organized began meeting on their own to plan and carry out organizing drives at other factories. In the process, they created a structure that worked so well the federation is now building shop stewards councils in other regions.

Unity Talks

Along with the rapid rise in membership, recent months have also seen renewed efforts at forging unity among Black and non-racial unions, accompanied by a continuing debate over strategy and tactics.

A union summit in early July highlighted both the importance attached to unity and the difficulties that stand in its way. The Port Elizabeth meeting brought together eleven Black and non-racial trade unions and union federations. It began on an encouraging note sounded the previous weekend at the annual conference of the General Workers Union (GWU). The Cape-based union announced that it would stop competing with "progressive rivals" in certain key industries and would attempt to cooperate with the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), a FOSATU affiliate.

The agenda of the summit itself was dominated by the call for "disciplined unity" issued by FOSATU at its congress in April. In his keynote address to that congress, FOSATU General Secretary Joe Foster had spelled out more clearly than ever before the strategy of what has emerged as the largest of South Africa's independent union federations. That strategy has been focused mainly on shop-floor organizing, an approach which has won it a solid foothold in several key industries, along with a reputation for being somewhat less militant than some of its rivals on broader political questions. In his speech, Foster indicated that FOSATU

would maintain its focus on factory organizing. At the same time, he acknowledged the important role played by the African National Congress and other mass popular movements, while stressing the need for a strong working class movement that could "use the strength of factory-based organization to allow workers to play an effective role in the community." For that, he contended, "disciplined unity" is essential.

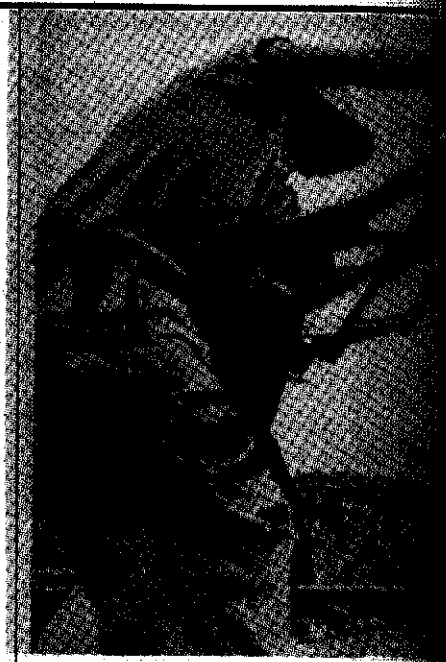
The summit did not yield the new, tightly structured federation FOSATU has in mind—a federation in which policy would be decided based on the numerical shop-floor strength of component unions and would be binding on the entire membership. Some other unions were distinctly nervous about such a proposal, particularly coming from a federation whose edge in existing membership could easily be translated into domination of policy.

But neither did the summit simply adjourn after issuing yet another declaration. Concrete plans were made for regional meetings and a follow-up summit. And there were indications that a functioning alliance was already developing between FOSATU, the GWU, and the African Food and Canning Workers.

Differences Spark Walkout

Nobody expects the road to unity will run smoothly. The July summit was marred by the absence of one significant federation, CUSA (the Council of Unions of South Africa) and by an angry walkout by the Motor Assemblers and Component Workers' Union (MACWUSA). Both have voiced strenuous reservations about FOSATU—CUSA because of the presence of whites in influential positions, MACWUSA because some FOSATU affiliates have registered with the government and participated in the government-prescribed structure of Industrial Councils (in which contracts for an entire industry are negotiated by representatives of all its companies and unions).

Both objections reflect major tenets of the Black consciousness movement, which has emphasized the importance of Black leadership and of shunning any form of cooperation with the state. The Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA), strongly identified with Black consciousness, kicked off a



South African Railway workers, witness Black labor power, the South African

debate on the issue in its publication with an article contending that "this system of industrial councils stands for everything which we are against." The article argued that participation in bargaining through Industrial Councils "takes away the struggle from the factory floor to the boardrooms of management." Nevertheless, the article advised "we cannot lay down rigid laws stating that unions must or must not register."

FOSATU, which also makes shop-floor democracy its cardinal principle, has advocated a pragmatic approach considering the Industrial Councils industry-by-industry and issue-by-issue. In some industries, FOSATU officials concede, Industrial Councils are hopelessly unwieldy and bureaucratic and may be incurably weighted against the interests of Black workers by the participation of a multiplicity of employers and white unions. In other instances, however, where Black unions can exert more leverage, FOSATU has been willing to use the councils as a place to bargain for certain demands on an industry-wide basis (such as recognition procedures or a minimum wage), while reserving other issues exclusively for plant-based bargaining.

The differences in philosophy and strategy cannot be lightly brushed aside. And they can have a substantial prac-



transport system would be paralyzed.

tical impact. A glaring example came in July, when more than 10,000 auto workers went on strike against Ford, General Motors, and Volkswagen. Workers at a Ford plant organized by MACWUSA pointedly refused to come out in support. Along with bitterness left over from the FOSATU affiliate's refusal to back the 1979 strike that spawned MACWUSA, the incident underlined MACWUSA's fierce opposition to NAAWU participation in the Industrial Council.

Recession Impact

In addition to the difficult task of building unity, the emerging Black unions must also grapple with the impact of a severe recession. With sales plummeting and inventories gathering dust, many employers are banking on the hope that Blacks will be too afraid of losing their jobs to organize a strike. Many others would welcome a strike as an excuse to shut their plants down for a few weeks and perhaps break the back of the unions.

So far, however, there are no signs that either of these hopes has been realized. Instead, Black unions have continued to fight for substantial pay hikes to cut into the widening gap between Black and white wages. At the same time, unions have demanded and won a

variety of protections against plant closings and layoffs. They have insisted that plants put an end to all hiring and overtime before laying anyone off, and that all layoffs take place according to seniority, with severance pay and a commitment to rehire when full production resumes.

At one factory, workers affiliated with the GWU agreed that everyone would take unpaid vacations rather than allow 30 to 40 workers to be laid off.

White Worker Response

Such demands highlight the impressive unity among Black workers. And the response of white workers illuminates just as sharply the treacherous political minefield companies must negotiate when dealing with the emerging Black unions.

Even with the economy in the grip of a recession, unemployment among South African whites remains virtually nonexistent. And so does their interest in going on short-time or unpaid vacation. Many have made it known they would rather pack up and look for another job.

Companies know they have to take the threat seriously. So does the government, which has seen ultra-right opposition parties win increasing support among white workers fearful their privileges will be eroded. Neither corporate managers nor government ministers appear to have devised a coherent response.

On the East Rand, for instance, the Ministry of Labour decided to allocate funds that could have been used for the unemployed to compensate white workers who lost pay because of strikes. Observers have also speculated that South African Transport Services has taken a hard line against the GWU partly because it feared a backlash among the many whites employed by the railroads.

But a backlash can work both ways. Experts estimate that between a third and a half of all strikes in South Africa are sparked by racist foremen or supervisors. In many cases, Black workers have demanded that a particular white be fired. Often, they have won. Often, too, supervisors simply quit as soon as a union appears. The companies have a problem.

In fact, they have a lot of problems. In many respects, the unions seem much closer to developing a unified strategy

than their adversaries in the corporate boardrooms and government offices.

According to the *Financial Mail*, corporate managers "fear that a state of 'incipient anarchy' has been created by the upsurge of Black union activity. The government strategy, outlined in the Wiehahn report of 1979 (see *Southern Africa*, "Defending Fortress Free Enterprise," June, 1979), has come unraveled. Not only have the unions defied government pressures to register, but so have many companies. The *Financial Mail* estimated this spring that more than 200 employers, many of them major concerns, had recognized unregistered unions. Several major corporations have pressured the government itself to open talks with the unregistered GWU in its dispute on the docks.

While virtually all strikes remain illegal under the letter of South African law, for all practical purposes the law has been repealed. During a wave of strikes on the East Rand, the police never moved in to arrest anyone for striking. When several thousand workers surged out of the Volkswagen plant at Uitenhage in July, police with guns were already posted throughout the area. They stood and watched. Several companies have actually signed contracts in which they agreed there would be no penalties for strikes or that no worker would be dismissed for at least three days after a strike breaks out.

Some corporate strategists are urging companies to sit down with union leaders in hopes of weaning them away from the rank-and-file. As one consultant told the *Financial Mail*, "We need to go beyond a situation in which demands are made through mass meetings of workers." They would like to see a "normalization" of labor relations, in which Black unions would operate in much the same way as their white counterparts.

That was also what the government had in mind at the time of the Wiehahn report. It is still what Wiehahn himself is advocating. In a Cape Town speech at the end of July he emphasized the importance of developing industrial relations skills and "the need to keep up with developments in this field." So far, the effort has patently failed. As Wiehahn conceded, "Many of our trade unions, particularly Black ones, are becoming politicized in an anti-free enterprise philosophy." A.M. □

Time Bomb in the Ports

The stage has been set for a showdown between the South African government and the emerging Black union movement.

The place: the docks of Port Elizabeth and East London.

The contestants: the General Workers Union (GWU) vs. South African Transport Services (SATS); an unregistered Black union vs. a division of the state-owned South African Railways and Harbors.

Concerned onlookers: major corporations whose South African operations depend on imports; the International Transport Workers Federation, with which the GWU is affiliated; and white workers who have fiercely opposed concessions to Blacks.

If the conflict boils over, warns the *Financial Mail*, it "would have dire consequences for South Africa's economy."

GWU leaders have taken great pains to spell out all the implications of a major confrontation over SATS refusal to recognize the GWU as the railworkers' union. In an open letter to SATS general manager Kobus Loubser, the union warned that a strike could be expected to ignite sympathy actions both at home and abroad. Stevedores who unload ships in South Africa's four major ports have already joined the GWU and won recognition from employers. Their "natural" sympathy for men who work in the same ports loading the same goods into trains spurred the GWU's drive to organize SATS and has now left them "outraged at the treatment of their fellow dockers." In addition, the letter underlined the "long history of solidarity" of dockworkers affiliated with the international federation and the volatile political situation in Black communities on the Eastern Cape. Other Black unions, including FOSATU, the largest federation of independent unions, have pledged their support.

The message has not been lost on companies that depend on the ports for parts and raw materials. A Ford spokesman issued a public call to SATS to hold talks with the union. His appeal was seconded by representatives of General Motors, the Midlands Chamber of Industries and by stevedoring companies which vouched for

the healthy relationship they enjoy with the GWU.

SATS management was clearly worried but hardly prepared to initiate talks with the GWU. Instead, it moved simultaneously to resolve some of the union's grievances and to harass people who had organized around them.

While adamantly refusing to talk with the GWU, SATS sponsored the creation of a Black Staff Association as a pliant alternative to the unregistered union, handed out its biggest pay increase ever to Black workers, established a pension fund for Blacks, and issued a ringing declaration that by 1987 "there will be absolutely no difference in the service conditions or earnings of Black and white workers."

Union Leader Fired

SATS also relaxed a regulation which classified all blacks as "casual servants," no matter how many years they had worked for the agency. As "casual" workers, Blacks faced the threat that they could be fired at any time with 24-hours notice.

SATS denied this change had anything to do with GWU court action on the issue. Nor did it concede Blacks "absolutely no difference" in status and job security

from that accorded whites as "permanent workers." Instead, it created an entirely new category of "regular workers."

The change came too late to help Jeremiah Tolwana, a "casual worker" with 13 years seniority, who was fired on 24-hours notice after he was elected the first chairman of the GWU local. Tolwana said a white official had told him how he could get his job back—quit the GWU and join the Black Staff Association. He refused.

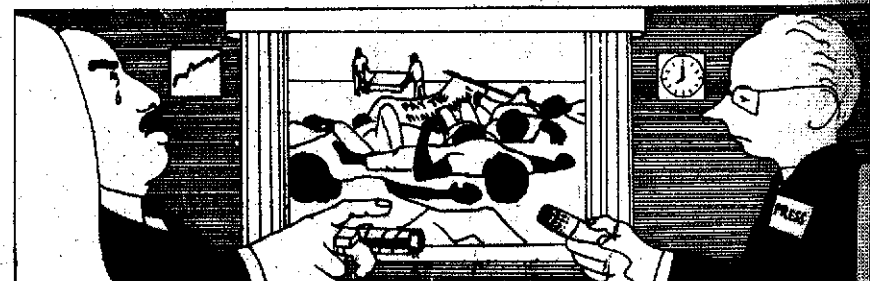
The new category also specifically excluded "migrant" workers coming from South Africa's bantustans. When the GWU began a slowdown on the docks in early September, SATS promptly announced that 400 "migrants" would be fired and shipped back to their so-called "homelands."

The slowdown continued. As Joseph Lelyveld of *The New York Times* noted, Black workers seem quite aware that they should thank "the union and not the railway" for any improvements in their conditions. And as one dockworker told him, they will not be easily intimidated.

"The police said, 'Your children will go hungry if you lose your job,'" the worker recalled. "Then I said, 'I came to the railroad in hunger, and I can go out in hunger again.'" A.M.



"I am calling on you to deal with this situation."



"How could such a tragedy happen?"

Destabilization: Zimbabwe Finds The "Smoking Gun"

New evidence of South Africa's covert war against its neighbors has emerged in the aftermath of the shooting deaths of three white South African soldiers on Zimbabwean soil last August. The three whites, accompanied by fourteen Black troops, clashed with a Zimbabwe army patrol eighteen miles north of the South Africa/Zimbabwe/Mozambique border near the town of Sengwe.

After initially dismissing Zimbabwean accounts of the incident as propaganda, South African Defense Force commander General Constand Viljoen later admitted that the slain men, former members of the Rhodesian Security Forces, were members of a South African unit stationed near the Zimbabwe border. But he denied Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's charge that the soldiers' mission was to "commit acts of sabotage and to make preparations for an invasion." Viljoen termed the incursion "unauthorized" and disavowed any responsibility for the men's actions.

If Viljoen's intention was to get South Africa out of the frying pan, however, he only succeeded in placing it squarely in the fire. Thousands of Rhodesians joined the South African army after Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 and many of them are now bitter at Pretoria's official disclaimer. These men began telling reporters they routinely conducted clandestine raids into neighboring countries. "We know the ropes," said one former Rhodesian. "We operate in Zimbabwe because we obviously know the country well. We also go into Mozambique because we used to raid there during the war. But we're fed up with the SADF for turning around and disassociating themselves from the guys killed in Zimbabwe."

"They were on an authorized mission and now they're being disowned," said another. "We're being treated as cannon fodder."

According to *Africa News* correspondent Andy Meldrum in Harare, the story was first leaked to the South African press, but quashed after the government

threatened legal action under South Africa's draconian security laws. The revelations were then passed to the Zimbabwean press, appearing in the September 5 edition of the Harare *Sunday Mail*. The *Mail* also quoted the same sources as confirming that a "destabilization center" existed in SADF headquarters in Pretoria.

Destabilization Efforts

Since 1975, when the defeat of Portuguese colonialism swept away South Africa's cordon of friendly white-ruled buffer states, apartheid's rulers have employed a combination of economic pressure, aid for anti-government guerrillas, and outright aggression against the front-line states to dissuade them from supporting the South African and Namibian liberation movements. South Africa maintains a permanent state of aggression in southern Angola, arms, trains and supplies counter-revolutionaries in Angola and Mozambique, and has recently stepped up its assassination and terror-bombing campaign against prominent members of the African National Congress (see "South Africa's War on the Front-Line," *Southern Africa*, January 1982).

This escalating conflict with South Africa has imposed a tremendous burden on the front-line states, many of whom are still recovering from the effects of their own liberation struggles—and the legacy of colonialism and underdevelopment. Following the August 18 incident at Sengwe, the Zimbabwean army was deployed "in full strength" along the 800 mile border with South Africa. Thousands more are deployed along the Mozambique border against South African-backed MNR guerrillas fighting the FRELIMO government.

Mugabe is also clearly worried about the loyalty of thousands of whites who remained in Zimbabwe after independence—often in constitutionally-guaranteed positions in the government and military. In early September, Mugabe told journalist Allister Sparks that many

whites retained "a persistent commitment to the past." He cited the August 1981 explosion at the Inkomo ammunition dump, the arrest and subsequent escape of a South African spy, Patrick Gericke, and the recent attack on the nation's largest air base—all believed to be the work of disaffected white Zimbabweans in league with South Africa—as evidence of a plot to overthrow his government.

Speaking of the white Zimbabweans, Mugabe said, "To make a gesture of reconciliation and then to get a response of subversion and machinations to overthrow the state is extremely disappointing to say the least."

Mugabe is also worried about the over 5,000 former followers of Bishop Abel Muzorewa that South Africa is reported to be preparing for use against the Mugabe government. "I suppose they are waiting for a ripe moment to offer itself," Mugabe commented. Washington is also becoming unhappy with South Africa's destabilization campaign against the Mugabe government according to unnamed "intelligence sources" quoted in the London *Observer*. According to this report, Reagan administration officials are eager to encourage a pro-Western Zimbabwe and view the South African actions as counterproductive. "It's about time [Pretoria] stopped messing around like this," said one diplomat.

If true, US disapproval of South African efforts against Zimbabwe would stand in sharp contrast to American support for similar activities elsewhere. The Reagan administration openly supports Jonas Savimbi's UNITA guerrillas and has yet to condemn South Africa for a single act of aggression against Angola or Mozambique. In March 1981, six American diplomats were expelled from Mozambique when FRELIMO security police broke up a CIA spy ring in Maputo. Mozambique President Samora Machel accused the CIA of passing information to the South African invaders who attacked a suburb near Maputo and killed thirteen ANC members.

M.F. □

Somehow We Survive

Revolutionary Poetry from South Africa

Somehow We Survive:
An Anthology of South African Writing
Edited by Sterling Plumpp
Thunder's Mouth Press
New York, 1982

*Somehow we survive
and tenderness, frustrated, does not
wither*

—Dennis Brutus

This anthology is ample testimony that Black South African writers are today a vital and creative force actively engaging the important issues of South African life.

Despite the obstacles of overt censorship and harassment of both writers and publishers, Black writing does get published in South Africa. Little of that writing, let alone work by exiled and banned writers, gets published in the United States. Although the large American presses have recently released a number of works by white South Africans, they have published virtually nothing by Black South Africans in the last few years.

Somehow We Survive is a dynamic collection of both previously published works that have been difficult to obtain, and unpublished works. The poetry is carefully edited to provide a balance between writers working inside the country and exiles, as well as between established figures and new talent. An effort has also been made to include the work of women writers, a welcome counter to the tendency towards the predominance of male writers in recent anthologies of South African fiction.

Censorship

A telling exchange of letters between the government's Publication Directorate and the publishers of *Staffrider*, an important magazine of black literary expression, is included as an appendix. The Directorate notified *Staffrider's* publishers of the banning of one of their issues on the grounds that it contained

"undesirable material," citing in particular Amelia House's story "Awakening" (reprinted on pp. 54-63).

The Directorate argues that "the undesirable material is mostly confined to unfair, one-sided and offensive portrayals of police actions and methods, calculated to evoke hatred and contempt of them."

The publishers respond in part that "the perception of the police as brutal by black writers, who are in rapport with the black community at large, is a sad fact of South African life which cannot be wished away. To disguise it by censorship can only exacerbate, not alleviate, the problem."

Reading House's story reminds us that a single piece of effective fiction can drive home the brutality of South African repression far more powerfully than the stream of factual accounts we usually read. No wonder the South African government tries to squash radical creative expression as intensely as it seeks to censor the progressive press.

Somehow We Survive is the most important and accessible collection of South African writing to be published in this country in some time. Without doubt it is worth the effort of ordering this book by mail and requesting that your local bookstore obtain copies of it. It is not often that one finds writing—like the poetry of Mongane Serote—which so poignantly captures the spirit of the liberation struggle:

it will be us
steel-taught to fetch freedom
and—
we will tell freedom
we are no more strangers now.
M.B.

Somehow We Survive is available for \$6.95 plus postage and handling from Thunder's Mouth Press, 242 W. 104th St. 5RW, New York, NY 10025

Poem

Christine Douts

our mothers are weeping
the wailing is spiralling
dissolving into the sky
roofing the open graves
of their sons and daughters
knifed

slashed
raped

Our mothers are crying
moist rivulets of despair
are running down the folds
of their dark skins
their sons and daughters
are

imprisoned
beaten
hanged
for sins not theirs

Our mothers
with their empty eyes
and busy hands
are the unheralded heroines
of our nation
the unsung martyrs of our struggle
their tears shall flow into a river
the river shall
fold over every curve of our land
drowning the sinner in his sins
saturating us with pride

our mothers shall sing lullabies
in the golden fields of the land
Africa shall be ours
Our mothers shall be what they are



Illustration by Dunile Feni

Sharpeville

Dennis Brutus

from *Sirains*

What is important
about Sharpeville
is not that seventy died:
nor even that they were shot in the back
retreating, unarmed, defenseless

and certainly not
the heavy calibre slug
that tore through a mother's back
and ripped into the child in her arms
killing it

Remember Sharpeville
bullet-in-the-back day

Because it epitomized oppression
and the nature of society
more clearly than anything else:
it was the classic event

Nowhere is racial dominance
more clearly defined
nowhere the will to oppress
more clearly demonstrated

what the world whispers
apartheid declares with snarling guns
the blood the rich lust after
South Africa spills in the dust

Remember Sharpeville
Remember bullet-in-the-back day

And remember the unquenchable will for freedom
Remember the dead
and be glad

Solidarity News

Lutherans Move Against Apartheid

At its biennial convention in September, the Lutheran Church in America called for economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa. The strongly worded resolution also instructed church officers to divest all directly-controlled church funds from corporations doing business in South Africa. Following years of lobbying by Lutheran activists, including members of the Lutheran Coalition on Southern Africa, the Lutheran Church in America (LCA) passed the resolutions over the objections of a number of high church officials—including the church treasurer who later resigned over the divestment move.

"The church saw divestment as an important symbol of solidarity and therefore, with the funds the church controls directly, we will divest," explained Lutheran Coalition National Coordinator Kim Zalent.

But more important than the divestment of church funds, says Lutheran

Pastor John Evenson, was the unprecedented resolution which instructs the church to "call upon the governments of the United States and Canada to implement economic and diplomatic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa, and to support, join, and encourage other United Nations members also to implement these sanctions."

This resolution, says Evenson, means that church officers are now free to lobby actively for sanctions against South Africa. The church lobbyist in Washington now has a specific mandate to go to Congress, the President and others and ask what they are doing to implement sanctions. In addition, church publications can begin actively promoting sanctions.

"Apartheid has been declared a heresy," says Evenson. Other resolutions passed at the Louisville, Kentucky gathering direct church staff, bishops and laypeople to assist Namibian refugees and

students, work in solidarity with the Namibian church, and actively work to oppose South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

Although a majority of the conference delegates supported the sanctions and divestment resolutions, others within the church were not so enthusiastic. When the divestment motion passed, the church treasurer resigned. The treasurer, who is also an executive vice president of Mobil Oil Corporation, one of the two largest US corporate investors in South Africa, said he felt that the corporate presence in South Africa was a progressive force, helping to abolish apartheid.

"But the convention delegates clearly rejected the Sullivan principle-type strategy of trying to improve conditions for Blacks," said Zalent. "We were taking our cue from Black South Africans, including the Black churches, who feel the Sullivan principles are too little, too late and are instead calling for the dismantling of the entire system of apartheid."

Kentucky Declines South African Trade

We are not going to do any business with South Africa

— Kentucky Governor John Y. Brown

Kentucky Governor John Y. Brown has withdrawn his state's "welcome mat" for South Africa, following a meeting with NAACP President John Johnson and a delegation of anti-apartheid activists.

The state Commerce Department had selected South Africa as one target for promoting Kentucky sales abroad and had sent a trade mission to the white-ruled nation in July.

In response, Johnson asked for the August 24 meeting with the governor, which was also attended by American

Congressman Bill Cooper, Democratic Senate Minority Leader Frank Lautenberg, American Baptist Convention Kentucky Executive Director Dennis Grant, NAACP Executive Director Black Leadership Initiative Project and Mobil Oil's Executive Vice President.

At the meeting, Johnson said that if the meeting, the state Commerce Department and a trade mission to South Africa would be withdrawn. Johnson said that if the state Commerce Department and a trade mission to South Africa would be withdrawn.

Louisville.

"We are not going to do business with companies that believe in apartheid," he stated. "We are not going to do any business with any country that believes in apartheid."

"We must be made the price of our freedom," Johnson told Africa World. "I don't think he ever misinterpreted Kentucky's past support to South Africa as those followed in South Africa."

In a further step, Governor Brown will introduce legislation to prohibit banks in direct trade with corporations investing in South Africa.

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Closing Date: 8/29

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(Inclusion in this list does not preclude later review.)

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News Briefs

Supergun for Sale

While unveiling South Africa's newest "super weapon," defense department officials made public a new emphasis of the country's \$1.2 billion arms industry: export.

The new G-6 gun, a self-propelled 155mm howitzer artillery system, was unveiled on September 11. The G-6 is actually a motorized version of the G-5, a howitzer system developed from illegally obtained American/Canadian technology. A Congressional investigation in 1982 found that, in the latter half of the 1970s, the Space Research Corporation made several shipments of 155mm arms and technology in contravention of US law. The investigators also concluded that these shipments probably had the direct assistance of a "Defense Consultant" for the US Central Intelligence Agency.

Described by Defense Minister Magnus Malan as "the most sophisticated weapons system in the world," the "new" gun will be the centerpiece in Pretoria's efforts to expand the South African arms trade. Other items that South Africa hopes to sell on the international arms market include a line of mine-resistant vehicles and a new version of South Africa's Oliphant tank. "We are now entering the export market in an aggressive fashion," says Piet Maris, the chairman of the state-owned armaments company, Armscor. Embargoes have forced Pretoria to invest billions in arms production, Maris points out, and foreign sales can help to support this burgeoning industry. Armscor wants to increase arms exports from a paltry \$9 million in 1981 to \$130 million a year in the near future.

Turmoil in Lesotho

Lesotho's Minister of Works was killed in August amid an upsurge of guerrilla attacks mounted by Lesotho opposition forces. On August 7, Minister Jobo Rampeta's car was ambushed in the north of the tiny mountain kingdom, which is completely encircled by South Africa. The government has accused the armed wing of the banned opposition Basutoland Congress Party of responsibility for the attacks.

Lesotho's Foreign Ministry rejected condolences from the South African foreign minister on the assassination, claiming he had "incontrovertible" evidence of South African "connivance" with the BCP's Lesotho Liberation Army. Lesotho's prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, insists the BCP-LLA is being used by the South Africans because of Lesotho's opposition to apartheid, which has included giving refuge to ANC members and other apartheid opponents.

In the last six months Lesotho has been rocked by a series of political murders that have added to the country's political turmoil. A week before Rampeta's assassination, Chief Jonathan's country home was attacked by artillery. And shortly after the ambush, Radio Lesotho reported the discovery of a cache of arms said to be of South African origin in the northern zone. Then a man died in a bomb blast at a "bomb factory" in South Africa, near the border with Lesotho. All of these incidents were tied by the government to BCP forces.

In June the secretary-general of the BCP, Koenyama Chakela, was gunned down. Chakela and a number of other BCP executive members split with BCP leader Ntsu Mokhehle, charged him with collaborating with South Africa, and returned to the country in 1979 when Mokhehle announced the formation of the LLA, reports *Africa Now*. Chakela had been trying to reorganize the BCP inside Lesotho to run against Chief Jonathan in upcoming elections and in opposition to Mokhehle.

But BCP/LLA leader Mokhehle, believed to be in hiding in or near Lesotho, has denied charges of collusion with South Africa. Though it seems clear his forces have at times mounted attacks across the South African border, he charges Jonathan's regime with seeking to

divert attention from its own autocratic rule by accusing the LLA of South African ties.

The LLA has been waging a low-level insurgency against Chief Jonathan's rule since at least the late 70s. Chief Jonathan seized power in 1970, suspending the constitution and declaring a state of emergency during an election in which he seemed to be losing decisively to the BCP.

Reconciliation Meeting

Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde have made a major step toward repairing relations between their two nations which ruptured nearly two years ago following a coup in Guinea. At a meeting last June in Maputo, Mozambique, the leaders of both countries agreed to establish diplomatic relations and renew cooperation within cultural, economic and technical spheres.

The two leaders, Bernardo "Nino" Vieira of Guinea Bissau and Aristides Pereira of Cape Verde, suggested that the split was being used against them by "their enemies."

The meeting culminated more than a year and a half of conciliatory initiatives mounted by Mozambican President Samora Machel, host of the reconciliation meeting. Noticeably missing from the meeting, however, was mention of the unification of the two countries or re-unification of the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) which split after the coup. Unification had been a cardinal goal of the PAIGC under its founder, Amilcar Cabral, who led the independence struggle against the Portuguese in both countries.

Correction

The Publications Received section of the September 1982 issue of *Southern Africa* incorrectly listed the price of Dickson A. Mungazi's book *The Cross Between Rhodesia & Zimbabwe: Racial Conflict in Rhodesia, 1962-1979*. (Vantage Press, New York). The correct price is \$14.95.

US Slips Shock Batons to Pretoria

The US Commerce Department recently admitted authorizing the shipment of 2,500 shock batons to South Africa. The batons, approved in April, were shipped last August in what seems to be a clear violation of a Federal embargo on the export of police and military equipment to South Africa.

"This product is intended to distract a person long enough that someone can put the strong arm on him," explained a State Department official. On the export application, the devices, which deliver a 3,500-volt shock, were described as "rechargeable flashlights with self-defensive capabilities." They were sold to a private South African firm with no restrictions on their resale.

Several violations and inconsistencies in procedure accompanied the export authorization, indicating an attempt to circumvent legal restrictions. The Com-

merce Department, for example, failed to consult with the State Department as required for licenses where foreign policy considerations are involved. Commerce officials said a lower-level employee approved the sale without recognizing the foreign policy implications and that it was not caught during a review.

State Department spokesperson Paula Kuzmich said that State would have turned down the sale if it had been consulted. But she dismissed Commerce's failure to consult State as mere "administrative inadvertence." The Washington press corps suggested a clash between State and Commerce over the issue, but in fact, "they seemed to be covering each other," noted Salih Abdul-Rahim of TransAfrica the Black American lobby group.

Another major anti-apartheid lobby, the Washington Office on Africa, said the Commerce Department "lied by failing to list the sale in its regular report to Congress." According to Abdul-Rahim, the omission was finally detected by staffers on the House Human Rights Subcommittee. By the time the sale was raised with the Reagan administration, officials said it was too late to recall them.

Significantly, a similar shipment of batons to South Korea was cancelled prior to the South Africa shipment following a strong public outcry.

House Africa Subcommittee Chairman Howard Wolpe promised an investigation in September but the hearings have since been postponed. TransAfrica has called for the resignation of Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige over the incident.

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